

DOUBT Mr. Cortelyou for the Republicans, and whoever may be chosen executive chairman for the Democrats, this year, will begin the active campaign with due respect for the task which is before them. No doubt, too, each will acquire increased respect for his job in the months that will intervene between now and election There are many old and wise politi-

clans who believe much less really depends upon the work of the executive committee and its chairman than is popularly supposed; that the election is really carried by a sort of psycho-political undertow, so to speak, and that unless the voting public is very delicately balanced at the beginning of the cam-paign, the committee's efforts are really not of much consequence.

not of much consequence.

But even these men admit that two or three technical blunders, half a dozen ill-advised speeches—or even one, for that matter—are sufficient to turn an almost certain victory into a disastrous defeat, as Blaine was defeated in 1884 by Burchard's famous "three R" outbreak. Beyond peradventure the executive chairman, whose campaign is not crowned with victory this year will not crowned with victory this year will find his subsequent political career a thorny one. He will be almost as much of a permanent "has-been" as ex-Presi-

of a permanent 'has-been' as ex-Presidents are popularly supposed to be.
It does not follow, however, that the winner will march on to great political preferment. William F. Harrity of Pennsylvania was the last Democratic cal life slice as he did that year. Mr.
Cleveland rewarded him with nothing, the overwhelmingly Republican sentiment of Pennsylvania precluded his getting anything direct from the people, and the world at large has heard little of him in the last dozen years.

Thomas H. Carter of Montana his ponent, on the circu-

Thomas H. Carter of Montana, his op-ponent, on the other hand, who was the ast executive chairman to lead the Republican forces to defeat, while never holding a Cabinet place, or other posi-tion of national importance, has served his State a good part of the time in the Senate at Washington, and has stood much higher in the councils of his party than Mr. Harrity has in the councils of than Mr. Harrity has in the councils of his. Mr. Hanna's career after the ex-ecutive chairmanship of two successful campaigns was more satisfactory, perhaps, than that of any man who has that can be gathered, and to kee ever filled the place. William P. St.

John, who led the Bryan campaign in that can possibly be suppressed.

has not had much power in public affairs in the last four years.

There has been a good deal of change in practical campaigning in Presidential years since 1884. The executive committee's work is more extensive than formerly, its employees are more numerous, and it has to spend several times as much money as it used to There is a widespread notion that a large proportion of the average campaign committee's expenditures are along lines that may not be discussed in print, but this is certain—the legitimate

along lines that may not be discussed in print, but this is certain—the legitimate expenses of every executive committee, nowadaya are quite large enough to tax severely any fund the loyal members of its party are likely to advance.

Mr. Hanna had a good deal to do with the raising of the funds for the two campaigns which he conducted, but it is probable that Mr. Cortelyou will confine himself more strictly to the executive side of the work. Cornellus N. Bliss, who will be treasurer, as he has been for three campaigns will have direct charge of the money getting, but Mr. Cortelyou will have the absorbing task of deciding how to spend it. This is bound to be puzzling as well as absorbing.

sorbing.

As far back as 1892 the committee funds were so big in mere bulk that the putting of them where they would do the most good involved business acumen of the highest order and the selection of a lot of lleutenants, each of whom was an expert in some practical line. Ever since that year the evolution of the executive committee's work has been advancing in the same directions. has been advancing in the same direction. Entirely aside from the subtleties of political management. Mr. Cortelyou and his Democratic opponent will this year have to organize and conduct the following departments:

Finnish, and a dozen other of the "un-known tongues" the political gospel with which the foreign-speaking voters of the country should be made familiar. Bureau of oratory, to train and "gen-eral" the army of "spellbinders" which each committee will deem it necessary

to send out over the land.

Bureau of information, to gather inside political news from the pivotal States

Bureau of publicity, to furnish the lewspapers with all the favorable news that can be gathered, and to keep from the public all the news of the other sort

grimcracks, to which executive committees, whether wisely or otherwise, always give much attention.

The proper way to do this work is, of course, to place each bureau or department in the hands of an expert, and it will be an early duty of each executive chairman to find and fix upon the men to act as such experts. This alone will be a good deal of a task, since the applications for places on the committee staff. cations for places on the committee staff are always much more numerous than the places, and all the applicants are pretty well backed by men who are influential in the party's councils. The mere selection of committee employees the almost always made a matter of red le almost always made a matter of pol-itice. Sometimes this adds materially to the chairman's perplexities.

It isn't likely, as a matter of fact, that all departments mentioned will be for-mally organized in the manner indicated, but all the sorts of work named and many more will have to be done, and the closer the organization, the more definite the dividing line between the departments, the more effectively will the campaign be run. Besides, there will have to be an edi-

torial council, or document committee, or something of the sort, to decide upon and put into form the general facts which the committee as a whole beshould be fed out to the public, and the arguments which should be used to drive them home. This, of course, is one of the most important tasks before the executive committee. Naturally, each committee has its own way of going about it. In the Bryan campaigns it is understood that the candidate himself had the final word on all the great documents; Mr. McKin-ley's voice was certainly a potent fac-tor in deciding what should be put out In his two campaigns, and there is at least a possibility that Mr. Roosevelt will have something to say about the Republican documents this year. But no matter who else has a finger in the "document" ple, the chairman must

CHAIRMAN

CORTELYOU

present practically all the strong points of the party and the candidate. It must be packed with facts and figures, and the facts and figures must be so accurate and so well arranged that the opposition cannot easily pull them apart or refute them. The book must not only present the strong points of its own party and candidate, but it must select the weakest paints of the opposition. select the weakest points of the oppos-ing party. It must be well indexed, too, and it must cover all loopholes, since it is to be used as a book of ref-erence both by the speakers who go forth to convince the voters, and the editors of the party papers in all parts of the Republic.

of the Republic Generally, the text book is the prod-uct of many trained minds. Senators and Representatives, famous political leader writers, financiers and tariff spe-cialists all take a hand, each furnish-ing something for the chapters about the subject on which he is best in-formed. There was a text book one year, however, which was produced al-most without help by a politico-fourna-listic genius, who shut himself utterly away from the world for the space of fortnight while he turned out the

No one in authority except the chairman meant to have the text book got up in that way, and there was much grumbling about it while the book was being put together. The grumbling became a howl of dismay soon after the first copies were received at headquarters, when it was discovered that the genius had forgot all about the index. The howling was redoubled when it was seen that one of the chapters took 1896, died of grief and disappointment, and John K. Jones of Arkansas, who conducted the Bryan campaign in 1900. Torchlights and all sorts of political if he is to be chairman in fact as well published and known views of the can-

prepared, and the objectionable chapter was changed radically.

The arrival of the first copies of the text book at Executive headquarters is a red-letter day in every campaign.

Little then everyhedy in the huseauch a red-letter day in every campaign. Until then everybody in the bureau of publicity and the bureau of oratory is working somewhat in the dark, because the keynote has not yet been struck. As soon as the books come in there is a general re-energizing of forces, so to speak. Copies are hastily sent away to the intending speakers and to the news-papers, and everyone feels that the real work of the campaign is about to begin.
Naturally, each executive committee

is almost as anxious to get hold of the opposition text book as it is of its own. and it has happened that advance cop-les have found their way into the en-emy's camp through the liberally tipped emy's camp through the liberally tipped hands of employees in the printing offices where the books were turned out.

Unlike most of the documents, the text book is not always circulated generally among the voters. Thus a party may have a definite financial policy which it is desirable to ever the committee of each party used to establish itself in a private house on which it is desirable to give chief prom-inence in one State and a definite tariff policy which should be made the all-important feature of the campaign in another. The text book will emphasize both of these policies alike, but it would be folly to force finance upon the voters in a State which cared only for tariff, or to crowd the tariff down the throats

or to crowd the tariff down the throats of voters in a State where money was the chief issue.

The wise executive chairman, then, may need to see that the text book, emphasizing all the party's policies, goes only to the party leaders who are well rooted and grounded in the true politi-cal faith, reserving for the general run of voters in each State those documents that enforce the doctrines with which they are most in sympathy. It

is a political tradition that an important State was all but lost to one of the big parties in one of the most recent important elections because "money documents" were sent to a State which was hungering for strong tariff meat, while two or three originally doubtful States were carried overwhelmingly by the same party because the right sort

States were carried overwhelmingly by the same party because the right sort of "literature" was sent to them.

It is in matters of this sort that Mr. Cortelyou and his Democratic opponent will be able to show the possession of political gentius or the reverse, and it may be that the battle will be lost and won this year along just such lines. The instruction of the speakers for each part of the country must be based on the same principles, of course; it would be absurd to assail the voters through the eye with one line of talk, and through the ear with another.

It was in sending out the right matter to the right places that Mr. Hanna showed most excellent judgment, and he had a rule which both.

was not approved thoroughly by the State committee of that State. Mr. Hanna got the experience which prompted this course many years ago, when he was beginning to make note-

when he was beginning to make note-worthy headway in business. He rare-ly went counter to the judgment of his department heads in the conduct of his enterprises, because, as he said, they were on the ground and knew more in a minute about their departments than he could learn in a year; and he never went counter to the judgment of a State committee chairman with refer-ence to the political literature the State should have.

Fifth avenue in New York. Mr. Hanna established one headquarters for the established one headquarters for the East in a centrally located business skyscraper in New York. For the West, he established another headquarters in a Chicago business buildquarters in a Chicago business building, and throughout the campaign he divided his attention between the two. This made it necessary for him to spend much time on the railroad, and added somewhat to his personal fattique but it did away with the old jealousy between the West and the East, and it kept the campaign going all the time both East and West. Both Bryan campaigns were also run on the dual headquarters plan, and it has probably come quarters plan, and it has probably come to stay in Presidential campaigns. Washington has often been urged as

headquarters, but has never been se-cepted by either party, though both of them choose Washington invariably as headquarters for the Congressional

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